1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

attitudes which they place on sex, and we shall accordingly pay close regard to these covert aspects of sexual interaction.*

The Kaska tend to avoid idealizing the sexual relationship. For the most part there is little demonstration of affection in public.* Although young married couples show considerable devotion to one another, the closest bonds between sexual partners appear only after marriages have endured for some time. There is evidence for assuming that tender feelings are inhibited, and that romantic affection is most readily expressed by simply maintaining proximity to the loved object. Little evidence of romantic passion was adduced. Commenting on the blind devotion which a white man was showing Dorothy Flower, Mildred Bates said: "White men more crazy than Indian about girl. Don't think Indian men do that." Richard Day, a métis who had been educated at a Pacific Coast boarding school, admitted having been in love, but described the affair as so unpleasant—he could neither eat nor sleep—that he did not want to risk the experience again. Love, he explained, appears after a man has had sexual intercourse with the same girl several times.

Only the man's ideals of female erotic beauty were secured. Such ideals emphasize even, white teeth; coordinated eyes; a well shaped nose; and long, well combed hair. One informant, adding the qualities of softness and plumpness, said that he did not fancy too prominent breasts. Breasts, with the exception to be noted below, have little erotic significance. Attractive clothes appear to enhance a girl's desirability, but cosmetics denied any erotic significance for perfume or cosmetics.

The attitudes guarding against exposure of the genitals have already been indicated in connection with the discussion of defecation and urination. It may be added, that strong shame is not attached to the exposure of the breasts. A nursing woman will freely uncover the upper part of her body in public, and Irene Wiley once went swimming in mixed company wearing only a pair of bloomers.

Shyness in the presence of the opposite sex is more strongly developed in girls than in boys, although it is by no means lacking in the latter. It is hard to gauge how much of a girl's coyness and evasiveness represents expected social behavior and what part is a sincere expression of confusion, fear, and embarrassment. The proportion of these motivations undoubtedly varies among different girls. There are several girls, like Irene Wiley and Flower Jim, who can never be upset by sexual attention. Younger and less promiscuous girls, however, are quick to become conflicted and alarmed by too direct a sexual approach, and even young married women will often reflect genuine disturbance when they encounter sexual attention from strange men. In the men, intense shyness seem becomes inhibited in accordance with the social expectations.

Among themselves, young men often discuss sexual topics and would readily do so upon the invitation of the ethnographer, once his company became familiar. Always, how-

* For recent studies stressing the social determinants of sex see Ayres, The Social Psychology of Hunger and the Family; Steward, Sex and the Social Order (1936); and Honigmann, A Cultural Theory of Obscenity (1944). The knight does not in ecologically determined, rather does it reflect a primary determinant (in Freud postulated), stress largely from Adler, Sex Wrestling, The Psychology of Sex (1931); and Malinowski, Sex Repression (Encyclopaedia Publ. and Knowledge in Women (1929).

* The display of affection in public is becoming among youths who have been outside an sexual boarding school and is discouraged by Tahltan young men and women.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nabano ND12

837 ever, they kept their voices low and maintained a cautious watch to prevent interruption. While alcohol still further reduces a man's sexual inhibitions, there is evidence to believe that this process takes much longer in the girl. The belief that girls will readily succumb to sexual advances when intoxicated could not be verified. Unless people are intoxicated, little [34] direct attention is paid to sex. Obscenity is limited, and mainly expressed in gestures. Discussion of sexual processes tends to be avoided.

832 Three types of sexual stimulation may be noted and usually follow in sequence. These are communication by means of conventional signs, teasing and rough-housing, and, finally, a direct sexual approach involving the genitals. All of these types of approach are distinguished by the fact that they do not rely on words; as we shall show, the whole sexual episode can easily be executed without speech.

832 201 The principal conventional signs serving to manifest sexual interest are winking and hand pressing. The latter is a common means for boys (and sometimes girls) to express sexual attention toward a dancing partner. Agreement to the invitation implied in the gesture is indicated if the partner returns the pressure. In many women the sign (although it may be returned) provokes a storm of real or affected embarrassment. Pinching the face and thighs are other gestures used to manifest sexual interest.

832 Among young unmarried people, teasing and rough-housing are the commonest ways of sexual stimulation, serving as a means of overcoming the difficulties related to a verbal sexual approach. Obviously a direct solicitation to coitus would not succeed in the society since, under such circumstances, most unmarried girls would immediately run away in embarrassment or fail to respond. Furthermore direct sexual solicitation would be embarrassing to the boy. Teasing and rough-housing are usually limited to nighttime, when boys encounter girls in Lower Post or around a house where a dance is in progress. Often girls initiate these actions. It is interesting to note the inception of the behavior in fourteen or fifteen year old girls, who throw bits of orange peel at young men in the safety of daylight and run off laughing as the boys threaten to catch them. Such provocation is, of course, not yet clearly sexual. At night couples often slap at each other with willow branches, push one another, or girls try to snatch boys' hats. All such actions soon lead to the girl's running off with the boy in pursuit. When the boy has caught her, usually with the girl's consent, the couple will wrestle until one or the other is thrown down. In this wrestling the boy manifests the first direct sexual approach to the girl.

As we have indicated, the third form of sexual stimulation, a direct sexual approach involving the genitals, follows a period of teasing and rough-housing and comes when the young people have moved far enough away from other people to be safe from observation. It is usually reserved until the boy has caught his partner in a dark, secluded place, preferably in thick bush. Sometimes it occurs in any social situation when intoxicated boys (more rarely a bold, intoxicated girl) initiate such behavior regardless of observers. Boys normally experience some hesitation in advancing to this form of stimulation, unless they [57] feel sure that the girl will not resist too strongly. Should several boys operate in a group much less consideration of the girl's possible resistance obtains. Generally, some indication of the girl's willingness has already appeared in her teasing or, more importantly, is indicated when she allows herself to be caught. Direct stimulation usually involves a boy touch-

I: Honigmann E-5 (1943-945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

ing a girl's genitals through her clothes or pressing the front of his body against hers, forcing her to remain against him. Sometimes a bold, intoxicated girl will cling against a boy's body, without, however, touching his penis. If sexual intercourse does not immediately follow, the boy may subsequently find many opportunities to caress the girl's body. For the most part such caresses are directed toward the hips and genitals. An interesting exception to the rule that breasts are not used as sexual zones comes from two young men, who had been outside to school, and in sexual situations grasped girls' breasts.

Intercourse is always carried out in privacy, usually at night, and is accompanied with little or no verbalization. A period of foreplay, in which the young man handles the girl's vulva and clitoris and presses his body and face close to the partner's, proceeds the act of coitus. During the foreplay the boy helps the girl remove her slacks and bloomers, but usually these garments are not entirely removed, the girl simply withdrawing one leg. The girl avoids the sight of her partner's nudity and carefully conceals her own sexual parts with her slip, dress, or blanket. Rarely will a girl assist in intromission. During coitus, in which the common ventroventral position is occupied, there may be some kissing. The coital rhythm of the male is described as slow and oscillating or wavelike, rather than sharp or jerky, with just a bare increase of tempo as ejaculation approaches. It would appear that not all girls attain the orgasm. The man's orgasm is relatively quickly attained and there is evidence that he is not concerned with waiting for his partner's climax. Following the orgasm there may be a brief period of relaxation in which additional kissing and close embracing occurs. In this post-coital relationship the girl is described as soothing and comforting.

Sexual intercourse is behavior which requires considerable patience and time. Both partners, after having signified their interest in the act, must wait until all strangers have retired or until older people are asleep. A boy's patience is also tested when there are rivals for a girl's favor at hand. Premarital sexual relationships do not ordinarily include an unmarried girl spending the night with her lover. While there is no evidence for assuming any shame or sadness immediately following coitus, the following day sees an embarrassed avoidance of unmarried sexual partners.

Up to this point we have described the pattern of sexual stimulation and intercourse for unmarried couples in summer. Variations occur in winter when the group is smaller and outdoor interaction difficult. In that season, sexual relations between unmarried people are often limited to occasions of visits. Then a boy will come to a girl's bed in the cabin after her parents are asleep. The older folks, if awakened, are said not to notice such behavior. Between husband and wife, as between an unmarried couple who have had sufficient opportunity to become sexually familiar, the period of sexual stimulation is limited to a more direct sexual approach which does not, however, always ignore foreplay, some wives being reported to arouse their husbands manually. Boys in general appear to be eager to secure new sexual partners and only as a last resort accept a willing partner who is apt to be one of the community's more promiscuous girls.

Attitudes toward sexual intercourse describe the situation as "dandy." Nevertheless there is some ideal uneasiness regarding too excessive indulgence as well as premature indulgence. Eighteen is commonly given as the age when sexual relations can safely be

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

535 rarely is there any conversation between the couple. When the music has stopped, the girl turns swiftly and returns to her place while the man joins his friends across the room or else stands outside the building until the next number is begun. Sometimes women too go outside. Men frequently dance while wearing their hats and, unless it is very warm, girls continue to wear their coats. Both sexes often dance holding an unfinished cigarette in their hands. In form, Kaska dancing may be described as a one-step, but some men in leading proceed in a monotonous walk-like step that has earned the soldiers' approbation, "Lower Post shuffle." The Tahltan do a square dance, but few Kaska Indians know this form. Waltzes are rarely played and are not well danced. White trappers when intoxicated are fond of introducing a variant of the one step. Calling, "woodpecker!" they execute the step by banging the heels forcefully on the floor instead of shuffling. Intoxicated young Indian men sometimes dance in this manner, and drunken musicians create considerable amusement by speeding up the tempo of playing, forcing everyone to dance rapidly. Occasionally a white man will fiddle for a dance. His playing is slower than the Indians' and he frequently interchanges the one step with waltzes, schottisches, and polkas to which the natives do not dance confidently.

One of the primary sources of enjoyment in dancing comes from the movement and [273] rhythm. There are, however, other functions of a dance which contribute to its popularity. [570] The first of these is the excitement which, even without the aid of alcohol, serves to break down the emotional remoteness of the people and, like the gambling games, leads to some of the most intensive social interaction in the society. Dances are also popular because they [832] are among the few situations facilitating sexual interaction. Soldiers and civilian construction workers employed on the Alaska Highway recognized this function and often utilized dances to recruit Indian girls for sexual purposes. Complaints by traders and missionaries led the provincial and Mounted Police to pay surprise visits to dances and order out of town all strangers found there. Indian dances are also visited by the police to detect evidence of [656] drinking. Dances found in progress after midnight, Saturday, are ordered closed under the terms of a provincial law forbidding Sunday dancing.

525 *Gambling.* In contrast to dancing, not much time is spent in gambling. Card games, such as poker and blackjack, are played during the summer and winter but are emotionally less intense than the stick games, which take place for a few consecutive nights each summer. When interest has been aroused in such a game, someone proposes that it be played and word travels through the community. Gradually people make their way to the designated spot. Gambling generally takes place some distance from town, since experience has taught the Indians that the resident missionary and traders are likely to be displeased if kept awake by the sound of the drumming.

In preparation for gambling someone first cuts eleven tally sticks from green willow branches. These sticks, each about a foot long, are peeled and one end sharpened so that they can be thrust into the ground. The next task is to choose two sides. This is done informally, but the man who is most prominent in the choosing becomes the captain of his team. Each team usually contains an even number of men—from four to six. A youth is then [534] designated to manage the "drum," which may consist of a frying pan, a four gallon oil tin, or a tambourine drum specially prepared for gambling. The drum stick is a plain piece of thick willow.

2: Teit E-5 (1912-1915) 1917
ND12 Nahane ND12

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[837]

fat." (*This is why some married people are now suspicious of each other, and accuse each other of infidelity without sufficient reason.*) In the morning the husband burned his wife's clothes and tools, the people extinguished the fires, and all of them deserted the place, leaving the woman to die of cold and starvation. Only her sister-in-law had pity on her, and told her she had left a little fire for her in one place.

As soon as the people were out of sight, the woman blew on the embers left by her sister-in-law, and made a small fire. Numbers of rabbits began to come to the deserted camp. She found some scraps of sinew at a place where the men had been making arrows. She made a snare with these, and caught a rabbit. She took the sinews of its legs and made another snare. Thus she continued catching and living on rabbits. She made needles and awls of their bones, thread of their sinews, and clothing and blankets of their skins. She took great care not to let the fire go out, as she had no axe or any tools for making fire. She collected whatever fire-wood she could find. She had no snowshoes, and could not go very far, for the snow was deep in that place.

At last March came, and spring was near. There was a hard, thick crust on the snow. One day she tapped on her knee, and said, "I wish some of you people would come this way!" She said this almost without thinking, as if in fun. Soon afterwards a moose ran past the camp, and a man on snowshoes in pursuit on the crust. Seeing the moose had passed near the camp, the man asked the woman how long since it has passed or how far ahead it was. She pointed out to him the branches of a tree still moving which it had touched in passing, and made a sign that it had just gone out of sight. The man went on, after telling her that his brother was following and would camp there that night. The brother came along, following the tracks, and, seeing the camp, left his blankets there with the woman. The first brother killed the moose, and that night both brothers returned to the woman's camp heavily laden with moose-meat. They cooked meat and gave some of it to the woman. During the course of the evening they asked the woman why she was alone, and why she wore only rabbit-skin clothing, and she told them all. They said, "When we return to our camp, we shall tell our mother." They told their mother, who said, "I am almost blind now, and I am very glad you have found this woman. She will be a wife for you, and will sew your clothes." They took the woman to wife, and she made for them fancy clothes of moose and caribou skin, embroidered richly with quill-work, and feather head-dresses. (*This is why men are now jealous of a good wife, who looks after them well and makes fancy clothes for them.*) She also made good clothes for herself. (*This is why men now like a woman who dresses neatly and well.*)

[832]

Tattooing

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Before the days of steel needles tattooing was done with a fine bone. The design was drawn on the skin with a charred pencil or point of charcoal. There were generally two operators. One punctured the skin with the point of the bone and lifted it up slightly. The other person tapped the bone a little and then rubbed moist charcoal into the wound. This process was repeated all over the surface intended to be tattooed, the punctures being made close to each other. Some operators did not bother outlining the designs. Later tattooing was done with a fine needle and thread, the latter being dipped in charcoal mixed with water. The needle was passed under the skin and the thread pulled through. This kind of tattooing made clearer or more well-defined lines than tattooing by the old method. Tattooing was not done at any particular time of life and was common to both sexes. Many however of both sexes never tattooed. The faces, forearms, wrists, and lower legs were the parts tattooed. Some marks were simple designs or figures such as straight lines, dots, and arrows. Some designs were totemic or pertained to the phratry or clan. Raven people sometimes put on figures of the raven and toad. Wolf people had figures of the wolf's tail, and Nanaai used the bear's foot and the Killer Whale.

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No object /purpose/ is known for the use /usage/ in tattooing of simple lines, dots, arrows, etc; totemic designs were used to show the person belonged to the clan or phratry possessing these totems. Face tattooing has long been out of use and none of the old Indians can remember having seen people thus tattooed.

Ideas of Beauty

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The following were and are ideas held by the tribe regarding what constitutes beauty. However, taste of individuals varied to some extent.

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DESIRABLE OR GOOD LOOKING	NOT SO GOOD LOOKING	UNDESIRABLE OR UGLY
Skin (both sexes) white or light, smooth	Medium color Medium smoothness	Dark Rough
Mouth (both sexes) medium size	Very small	Very large
Nose (both sexes) straight, slightly aquiline	Very convex	Concave, very flat
Cheek bones (both sexes) slight or medium		Very prominent
Head (both sexes) common shape	Very wide or pressed or deformed	
Feet (women) small	Medium	Large
Feet (men) small or medium		Large
Hands (women) small	Medium	Large
Hands (men) small or medium	Large	
Knuckles (women) small	Medium size	Large
Bones or joints (women) small	Medium size	Large
Eye-brows (both sexes) immaterial		
Hair of head (women) long, thick		Short, thin
Hair of head (men) short		Very long
Do of pubis (women) some		
Do of pubis (men) immaterial		
Beard (women) none		Any
Beard (young men) none	Moderate amount	Very much
Beard (old men) immaterial		
Moustache (women) none		Any
Moustache (men) none or moderate size		Very much
Hair on body, arms, legs, etc., (women) none (men)	A little	Very much
Body (women) plump	Slightly thin	Very thin
Body (men) medium	Slightly fat	Very fat
Stature (women) medium	Short or slightly tall	Very tall

Individuals' tastes however varied on all these points.

Strength and endurance, especially in men, were considered very desirable and of more importance than the stature and shape of body. Tall men were considered good looking, but not equal to short men for strength and endurance. Some tall men were very good walkers but short men were better than tall men as workers and packers. They could carry heavier loads without becoming fatigued. Men who were skilful hunters, good-tempered and of kindly disposition were most desired by women. These qualities were more considered by women than good looks, etc. Some men considered a light smooth skin preferable to fine features. Some would say, "That woman has a beautiful face and fine features but her skin is too rough". It is said that women (or all persons) of the Raven phratry had rougher skins than women or people of the Wolf phratry. This is said to be owing to their descent from Big Raven who like the raven bird had rough skin, especially on the legs. A very wide head or a very flat nose was considered ugly. People having these features were said to resemble slaves. A man would say of a wide-face, flat-nosed person, "That woman is ugly; she resembles a slave". 832 [581] [616]

SUBSISTENCE--VARIETIES AND PREPARATION OF FOOD

The food of the Tahltan consisted of flesh of animals and of fish supplemented by some vegetable food during the summer season. Animal flesh especially was the chief subsistence of the tribe, but fish was also important. In comparison with the Plateau Tribes the use of roots and berries was insignificant. Shell fish taken from salt or fresh water were not eaten. It is said they were fairly abundant in one large lake near the head of Nass River, but in all other parts of the Tahltan country were exceedingly scarce. There were no domestic animals excepting the dog, and no agriculture was practised, except for a period of years the cultivation of tobacco. 262 [23] 241 249]

The flesh of the following animals was considered good food; the caribou, moose, buffalo, sheep, goat, bear (of all kinds), lynx, beaver, marmot, porcupine, ground squirrels, and hare or rabbit. 262 136

Tree squirrels and muskrats were eaten occasionally especially if food was scarce but they were not considered very good food. Squirrels did not have enough fat.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Upper Liard

755 787 Certain therapeutic rites required silence in order to be effective. These a shaman performed at a considerable distance from the sick camp, never within range of the sound of barking dogs. Probably under such circumstances a healer caused a sorcerer's evil to recoil on the latter. Detection of a sorcerer was easy if it happened that somebody remained conspicuously absent from a curing ceremony. Against the absent one the shaman directed the finger of guilt.

783 Confession helped to diagnose illness resulting from broken avoidances and apparently also possessed curative value in itself. The shaman asked, "You ever bother your sister?" "You ever kill an otter?" "How you kill mink?" "You ever steal?" When the patient had admitted an offense the confessor warned him not to repeat the deed upon recovery.

177 789 801 832 Following contact with Europeans a hunter came to perform a ritual to alleviate intense cold. He fired a dry root ("wolverine medicine") from a shotgun. Informants did not recognize the reference to "lucky number." The preceding material, however, suggests strongly that the number "four" possessed special significance. Apart from love songs, which may have been used with the idea of magically attracting a member of the opposite sex, love magic occupied little attention.[84]

754 As already indicated people sometimes used their magical power against other people. For example a reputed shaman who felt slighted or ridiculed might use sorcery in vengeance against his real or fancied detractors. People took care not to annoy a shaman. He should be "only pleased," said an informant. A man whose temperament favored sorcery sought to increase his power by dreaming of animals like the mink and otter but not all persons were sorcerers whose power emanated from these species. A sorcerer tried to "steal" his victim's wind, perhaps first securing a piece of the latter's clothing. Burial of such a possession in the ground brought about death. (Note the use of burial in this context.) A person suspecting sorcery might pay to have his wind returned. In this way really malevolent practitioners extorted women. Sorcerers meted out not only death but also illness, physical and mental, and also "troubled" a man by ruining his hunting ability. A good hunter knew that he had been sorcerized when, seeing a moose, he failed to strike the animal with his weapon. Black magic held a danger of mental illness for the evil magician, who in some cases was also executed with the community's consent. Sorcerers, however, could evade execution by slipping through their enemies' hands. An informant related a story about two Tlingit shamans, one of whom was evil. They both flew through the air. The good man disappeared after a time but his

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The wind had gone so far away that the patient was close to death. During the interval of unconsciousness nobody might leave the dwelling. After perhaps four hours the men simultaneously returned to awareness and renewed their singing. Part of the paraphernalia used in the rite consisted of a line strung with feathers. This the practitioner lashed around the patient's wrists and used to pull the latter from his bed. In that way he was pulled back to life, the informant explained. The pattern of going into a trance to retrieve an errant soul is close to the Eskimo pattern of shamanism. The line fastened to the patient recalls Eskimo divination customs.

[84] Love magic has been reported for the Tahltan. In one particular variety a white root was obtained from the ground and rolled into pellets. The woman's image was then drawn on a piece of skin and encircled with the pellets. If the charm was to be successful the pellets moved and at the same time the woman found herself attracted to the magician.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12

Tsalona
upper Liard

841 *Tsalona.* Because menstruation threatened a man's dream power thereby imperiling his success in hunting, women remained isolated during the period of the flow. Widow Matoit, at Fort Nelson, spoke of willow-bark enclosures surrounding the menstruant that prevented her from seeing out of the camp. A woman also stuffed feathers in her ears in order not to hear the hunters returning to camp. A Lower Post informant described all fresh meat and fish as being taboo to the menstruant. The avoidance referred to the dislike which the animals felt for the menstrual blood.

SEX

831 *Upper Liard Kaska.* Despite a certain ambivalence regarding sexual processes the Indians keenly appreciated the excitement of sexual situations. They also sought to
832 explain the nature of sexual attraction by referring to the anecdote of an old man who could not understand why the sexes desired physical contact with each other and asked the people for their opinion. People felt that sexual desire ultimately stemmed from a desire for offspring. Informants localized sexual tension in the testes, the organs responsible for erection and sexual desire. The testes also influenced human thought processes, provoking imagery of "women" in the man. These ideas in turn helped to create physiological readiness for copulation. Internally women possessed the equivalent of testes. A certain measure of sexual intercourse was desirable because of the pleasure it aroused. Coitus was even beneficial if pursued in moderation. However, a boy might be weakened for life should he enter sexual relations before 18 or 19 years
[839] of age. Masturbation led to insanity or blindness and in a child was punished by whipping the hands with a willow switch. Coitus could also diminish a man's dream power; hence a shaman who wanted to maximate his strength abstained from sexual relations and dreamed of participating in heterosexual intercourse. The women in his dreams represented his animal sponsors. Men possessed stronger drives for coitus than women and some men were more highly sexed than others.

833 An informant believed that people engaged in sex acts more frequently in summer than in winter.[16] In summer unmarried couples copulated in daylight or at night, but always in the privacy of the bush. A husband and wife waited until after nightfall and the sex act between them always occurred in the dwelling. Sometimes a man reached orgasm two or three times in a night but that was uncommon and a mark of youth. When he was 18 the average man reached orgasm about seven times a week. An estimated six out of ten men 20 years old could copulate twice a night and three out of ten, three times a night but probably not every night. By the age of 30 marital relations were reduced to about once a week on the average and at 40 to about once every two weeks.

831 While sexual relations of a casual sort were common enough before marriage, the
593 culture of the Kaska Indians included a notion of love and lifelong devotion. "If a man loved his wife very much he would not marry again when she dies. He'll remain single all his life." Similar sentiments motivated a man on journeys to carry mementoes of

[16] In 1944-45 we estimated a higher frequency of summer conception. Honigmann, *Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society* (1949), 37, 232.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Upper Liard

his sweetheart, like a piece of her hair. Girls might extract a promise of faithfulness in return for a keepsake. No case of suicide for unrequited love could be recalled. The ideal girl was one who cared for her hair; possessed bright, good looking eyes; showed strong or "big" legs, and a wide chest. Physical beauty did not suffice to recommend a girl for marriage. As a matter of fact boys were advised to choose a plain girl, who would not attract other men and hence whose faithfulness could be depended on. An ideal bride was a girl thoroughly imbued with the virtue of generosity, who treated people well, offered food to guests no matter how numerous they might be, even if it meant using the last piece of meat in camp. Such a woman attracted visitors to a camp, always a gratifying experience for a host. This description of ideal womanly virtues suggests how strongly a woman dominated the food that a man brought home. Clearly her rights were final and by no means did such rights represent mere lip service on the part of the man.

Conventions pertaining to modesty were very important. It was indecent for a child beyond the age of three to expose the genitals. No woman revealed to a man any part of her body between the breasts and ankles but apparently the breasts were not as strongly concealed as other areas—at least not in a nursing woman. Few men ever saw their wives completely naked. Women also refrained from undressing before other women. A man took care not to expose his penis to a woman, but nudity before male companions produced little or no embarrassment. Modesty demanded that a woman sit with her legs folded under her, parallel to one another, the dress drawn over the knees. In a mixed group a man sat with his legs crossed. A youth was once severely reprimanded for facing parents-in-law with his legs spread apart. Blushing followed when people called immodesty to one's attention. This indicated shame. Strict rules governed the vocalization of sexual concepts. Boys were advised not to use the terms for the sexual organs until they were "half-old" and never to refer to sexual topics in the presence of siblings. The emphasis on modesty correlated with an interest in pornography and verbal obscenity. Pornography included pictorial and sculptural representations of the genitals. One man reportedly carved phalluses two or three feet long from wood and planted them on ridges at the heads of trails, where they would shock people who unexpectedly encountered them.[11] In anger a man who had lost his wife to a rival might caricature the latter in charcoal on a tree, showing him naked and holding his penis. Children were punished for making obscene drawings. Both sexes expressed verbal obscenity, common expressions including: "Somebody has had intercourse with you!" "You just know how to copulate!" "You have no father!" A woman angered another woman by crying, "You vagina!" Or she might tell her husband, "You copulate with me every night!" For the proper flavor vernacular terms must be substituted for the printed version of these expletives!

Patterned gestures served to communicate sexual interest between sexes. If a girl wanted to reciprocate such an advance she merely laughed. In verbally soliciting coitus

[11] One informant, who had been a member of boat crews freighting on Dease River, several times shaped sticks of driftwood into huge phalluses, leaving them to bob in the current to shock female passengers on other vessels.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12

Upper Liard

832 a man employed euphemisms and circumlocutions. "I'm going to stay with you," made his intention quite clear as did, "I want you, sister-in-law." Only a girl who enjoyed no respect in her community solicited coitus. Lovers sometimes agreed to meet in specific places. As is so common in North America, a girl walking alone away from camp always provided a fair target for sexual advances provided she did not come under an incest rule. At night a boy might creep close to a camp containing an unmarried girl. He slipped his hand under the sleeping robes striving to reach her body and genitals. If she pressed his hand the boy slipped under the blanket. On the other hand, if she screamed out he might be caught and punished. Another way of winning a girl's
832 favors was to sing love songs from a short distance beyond the camp. Girls often wept
533 a little when they heard the rather mournful refrains of these tunes. An example of a love song in free translation follows:

asla patiaaa	My sweetheart is lovely
la patiiaaa naʔų naʔų	Sweetheart, I am lonely today.

To which a girl might answer:

duʔela itcitla	How sad, little brother.

832 Most girls hung back shyly from physical intimacy; hence even a willing partner had first to be caught and "forced" into submission. When such a girl struggled in the arms of her lover the boy promised "I'm not going to leave you alone. I'm going to fight you." This was calculated to make her surrender, perhaps by stressing how little resistance would avail. The struggle in which a girl's ambivalence toward sex relations was overcome did not constitute rape in the eyes of the youths. Sometimes it happened that a girl truly resisted a boy's advances. "When a girl does not want a man she hits the man." To subdue such a girl the rapist punched her leg about half-way above the knee thereby relaxing the thighs sufficiently to force them apart. Rape occurred rarely and was the resort of men who could not obtain the favors of a girl in any way. Strong women also could throw down a man, undress him, and by sitting astride his thighs force intromission. Such behavior was described as rather pleasant for the victim.

833 Ideally a girl of 17 engaged in sexual relations with a boy of her choice as a prelude to marriage. Any tendency toward promiscuity was immediately stopped and promiscuous girls were beaten. Boys also received advice to limit their attentions to one girl. One gains the impression that corrective measures seldom applied to youths who manifested varietistic tendencies. A boy usually entered upon his sexual career without tutelage from any more experienced person. Sometimes a girl, knowing that an inex-
[826] perienced boy desired coitus, kept after him until he submitted to her advances. The existence of the hymen remained unknown, the pain of first intercourse being asso-
[843] ciated with the girl's inexperience. Although most girls commenced sex relations at about 17, a girl rarely bore a child until about two years later. In the words of the informant, "Many people could get away with it for two years."

As already indicated males took the initiative in sex relations. Sometimes the couple preceded the sex act by lying together, the man talking to his partner, caressing her

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
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838 sought young men as sexual partners, with whom he secured orgasm by apposing the glans of the penes. In the morning the homosexual rewarded his lovers with gifts, treating them "just as good as women." Although dressing as a man, the homosexual removed his clothing during sexual relations. Once he tried to secure anal intromission with a sleeping man who had been eating fat and who defecated against his would-be seducer. Female homosexuals simulated copulation by "getting on top of each other." Such women were often transvestites, but no male transvestites could be recalled. Sometimes if a couple had too many female children and desired a son to hunt for them in later years, they selected a daughter to be "like a man."[20] When she was about five year's old the parents tied the dried ovaries of a bear to her inner belt. She wore this amulet for the rest of her life in order to avoid conception. The girl was raised as a boy. She dressed in masculine attire and performed male allocated tasks, often developing great strength and usually becoming an outstanding hunter. She screamed and broke the bow and arrows of any boy who made sexual advances to her. "She knows that if he gets her then her luck with game will be broken." Apparently such a girl entered homosexual relationships.

839 Behavior corresponding to sexual sadism, masochism, and exhibitionism could not be recalled. Mentally ill women and old men sometimes publicly revealed their genitals. Voyeurs received a scolding but were not physically punished. Animal contacts occurred only rarely. Necrophilia appears to have been totally incompatible with the prevailing attitudes toward the dead, an interpretation concurred in by our informant.[21]

832 833 838 839 *Dease River Kaska.* Love songs constituted a means of winning girls' favors and also possessed magical properties designed to create favorable attitudes toward the wooer. In coitus the woman lay on her back. Cunnilinctus was denied but a rare woman performed fellatio as a preliminary to intercourse. Berdaches were unknown but the informant agreed that both male and female homosexuality sometimes occurred. Homosexual men engaged in sodomy, oral contacts being carefully avoided. Two women achieved orgasm through clitoral friction. An upper Liard River informant reported a case in which some Dease River youths who had killed a cow moose copulated with the animal, an act blamed for the subsequent depopulation of the Dease basin.

MARRIAGE

581 586 *Upper Liard Kaska.* Ideally marriages were for permanency and a man who tried to leave his wife would be urged by the community to reconsider his decision. Despite these ideal attitudes divorce was common.

581 [885] A man sought a wife "to dry meat for him," sew clothing, cook his meals, and perform the many other services culturally allocated to women. Marriage brought a youth a certain increment in prestige, marking as it did the transition to adulthood. It promised

[20] In Montenegro and other Balkan countries it was not uncommon for a girl to swear virginity and occupy the role of a son in a family without boys. Durham, *Some Tribal Origins, Laws, and Customs of the Balkans* (1928), 211.

[21] See below, p. 137. Thus do cultures limit the scope of deviation. See Mead, *Male and Female* (1949), 147.